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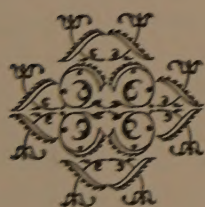
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NEW SERIES

OCTOBER

VOL. XIV No. 4

THE FIRST VERMONT DAILIES: A CHAPTER IN NEWSPAPER HISTORY

By T. D. SEYMOUR BASSETT
Princeton University

THE success of dailies in Vermont was assured when four factors were present: the telegraph, fast power presses, an urban population and train service. The telegraph provided frequent reports of foreign and national events. The steam press could keep up with the increased volume of reading matter. A growing city provided richer sources of local news, had the cash to pay for printing, advertisements and subscriptions, and needed more frequent reports for its businessmen. Railway mails could distribute an edition over half the state in a few hours. The legislative daily of the Montpelier *Watchman and State Journal*, started in 1841, was the exception because its news was at hand, it had an assured circulation among the legislators, and copy was prepared by House and Senate clerks.

In January and February, 1848, the Troy and Canada Junction Telegraph Company opened service from Troy, New York to St. Johns, Quebec.¹ Envious editors off the line commented on the falsity of the first *Free Press* report by "tell-lie-graph,"² but the possibilities of the innovation stirred imaginations. Dewitt Clinton Clarke, *Free Press* editor, and his successor, George W. Benedict, were active stockholders in the telegraph company. Benedict was trustee of the line and from 1847 to 1853 devoted all his energies to the telegraph business.³

1. Burlington daily *Free Press*, January 28, February 23, 1848.

2. *Watchman*, March 10, 1848.

3. *Free Press*, September 18, 1847, February 23, 1848; St. Johnsbury *Caledonia*, March 20, 1852; *Watchman*, January 18, 1854.

In March, 1848, Clarke completed arrangements for publishing a daily and issued the first number on Saturday, April 1.⁴ Burlington, the largest town in Vermont, was just reaching a population of seven thousand,⁶ and looked forward enthusiastically to expansion in the railroad era. Both the Vermont Central and the Rutland and Burlington railroads completed through connections from at least the edge of Burlington by the end of 1849, and all the principal Vermont lines were finished soon after.⁷

After a year of publication Clarke declared that the daily had "pretty near made an end of us." Half the subscription price of four dollars a year went into paper; ink, fuel, lights, presswork, carrying and telegraph fees took nearly all the rest. Evidently the daily did not yet count on much income from advertising. "Now . . . will two hundred and seventy-five subscribers, on these terms, justify us in keeping a horse and two dogs?"⁸ His rival, the daily *Sentinel*, had entered the field in January, 1849,⁹ but their combined circulation was only 450 in 1850.¹⁰ The *Sentinel* gave up in 1852.¹¹

The next year Clarke, always in financial trouble, sold the *Free Press* to Benedict, auctioned his household goods and left the state.¹² By this time, through Benedict's Vermont and Boston Telegraph Company, Burlington had connections with Boston as well as Montreal and New York, and the network kept expanding.¹³

The new management had few of the difficulties of the first five years. Handicapped by lack of a power press and sufficient capital, Clarke had nevertheless kept the daily alive. Benedict enlarged, bought new type and a power press.¹⁴

The *Free Press* as a weekly did not reach as wide an audience dur-

4. The first number issued is missing from the publisher's file. *Free Press*, March 10, 1848; *Index to the Burlington Free Press in the Billings Library of the University of Vermont* (10 vols., Montpelier, 1940-42), I, 53.

6. Its census population in 1840 was 4,271; in 1850, 7,585.

7. *Free Press*, December 19, 28, 1849. By September, 1849, Rutland trains were running from Burlington to Salisbury (*Free Press*, September 20, 1849). The Central reached downtown Burlington via the ravine cutting across the present residential section late in 1850 (*Free Press*, October 2, 1850).

8. *Free Press*, April 2, 1849.

9. *Free Press* January 2, 1849.

10. U.S. MS. Census in State Library, Montpelier, Vermont.

11. *Free Press*, April 4, 1852.

12. *Free Press*, April 1, 5, 1853.

13. *Middlebury Register*, February 2, 1853.

14. *Rutland Herald*, February 24, 1854.

ing the next twenty years as the papers of smaller towns, perhaps because of the inferior train facilities provided by the Central Vermont between Burlington and the interior of the state. Nevertheless, both weekly and daily remained on a stable business basis. Evidently a daily could not survive by itself, but needed the wider patronage of an established weekly to carry it along.

During the rest of the fifties the newspapers of other towns with equal telegraphic and railroad services proposed or tried dailies but could not sustain them. In Montpelier two young men published a few numbers of a daily *Herald* beginning on May Day, 1849, and quickly retired.¹⁵ In 1853, the Rutland *Herald* issued a prospectus and a specimen of a daily, but could count on only 150 subscribers and dropped the idea.¹⁶ Rutland, the second largest town in Vermont, then had little over five thousand people.¹⁷ The *Herald* had one of the first steam power presses in the state, probably acquired from the Rutland Vermont *Union Whig*.¹⁸ The St. Albans *Vermont Tribune* became a daily in 1854 and suspended publication the next year.¹⁹

Back from the South in 1858 with a little money and his usual ability to win friends and raise the balance, D. W. C. Clarke started the Burlington *Times* on May 18, 1858, with both weekly and daily editions.²⁰ The fate of Clarke's second venture illustrates the dependence of the Vermont daily upon a previously established weekly under the same management. The *Times* grew until in 1860 it had 450 subscribers to the daily — half again as many as to the daily *Free Press* — but only 800 subscribers to the weekly, compared to the *Free Press'* 1200.²¹ Its daily circulation, however, did not reflect its solvency. As the cost of publishing a daily was already more than the income from subscriptions,²² the *Times'* failure was a failure to secure enough advertisements. Times were hard and money was tight. Clarke found

15. *Watchman*, May 3, 1849.

16. *Herald*, July 8, 15, 1853.

17. Its 1850 census population was 3,715 and according to the private census taken under the direction of Rockwood Barrett and reported in the *Herald* of September 24, 1857, it had 7,663.

18. Cf. title page of *Vermont Senate Journal*, Rutland, 1852, printed by "Tuttle & Co.'s Steam Job Printing Establishment."

19. *Register*, March 8, 1854; Brattleboro *Vermont Republican*, June 15, 1855.

20. *Free Press*, April 5, May 18, 1858.

21. U.S. MS. Census.

22. *Free Press*, July 15, 1861, quoting the Watertown (N.Y.) *Daily Reformer*.

it increasingly difficult to meet his financial obligations, until he was forced to sell the *Times* at auction in the fall of 1860.²³

George H. Bigelow and W. H. Ward, the new owners, found business conditions more favorable to the *Times*. Mobilization and the commerce of the home front made money and news more plentiful. Burlington was a center for recruiting, outfitting and dispatching troops. With the return of peace the *Times* had difficulties again. In 1867 Lucius Bigelow, now co-publisher with his brother, sent his banker twenty dollars on account with an apology. "I have been 'haul up,'" he wrote, "to use a 'cant expression' the force of which I trust you may never feel."²⁴ The next year the *Free Press* bought the *Times*.²⁵ Burlington was not large enough for two dailies.

Rutland in 1856 was about the size of Burlington when the daily *Free Press* started, but G. A. Tuttle & Co. had just taken over the *Herald* and was in no position to take a big risk with a daily. In spite of the depression of 1857-61 Tuttle kept expanding his weekly until he was printing 2500 copies on the eve of the Civil War.²⁶ Conditions were now ripe. Telegraph and railroad service, more than ten years old, were out of the pioneer stage. Breakdowns caused by storms or mechanical difficulties still occurred, but much less often and not enough to hurt a daily. War news, always booming the newspapers, would carry the infant daily through its first precarious months on the wave of excitement and anxiety over enlisted relatives.

On April 29, 1861, the daily edition of the *Herald* first appeared. It made better than expenses at first. The *Herald* pioneered as the first Vermont daily to publish full telegraph reports of the Associated Press. Soon the government began to censor the wires and circulation dropped with the decline of army news. Advertisements could not pay for the daily at this time when not all the advertisers in the weekly patronized the daily. At best, the returns from advertising were less than a third of a publisher's income.

During the crucial month of October, 1861, the editor feared that he would have to give up the experiment. By reorganizing the circula-

23. Rutland *Courier*, May 21, 1858; MS. correspondence of Clarke and Frederick E. Woodbridge of Vergennes, his creditor, in the Sheldon Museum, Middlebury, Vermont, January 15, 1859 through July 27, 1860; *Free Press*, October 9, 1860; *Times*, June 17, 1861.

24. MS. in Sheldon Museum, Bigelow to Woodbridge, August 5, 1867.

25. *Free Press*, January 2, 1869, and quotation from *Times* of December 31, 1868.

26. *Herald*, April 4, 1861.

tion department, taking over village distribution from an agent, eliminating agents where sales were established, extending its agencies to towns farther out along the railroad and eliminating the excessive bookkeeping caused by monthly instead of quarterly or annual subscriptions, the daily *Herald* was able to continue.²⁷ Whereas it had boasted at the start that it could supplant the city papers in county circulation, it took back this boast. It emphasized features which the metropolitan press could not duplicate: detailed accounts of actions involving Vermont troops and regular soldier correspondence from the Vermont camps. The *Herald's* patriotism, of course, was beyond reproach. From August 26 through November 26 it ran at the head of its columns: "Let every American Citizen, instead of crying Peace, Peace, when there is no peace, rally upon the ramparts until Secession is silenced; until the roar of artillery has ceased."

The price of the daily *Herald* fluctuated from six dollars a year in 1862-63 to eight and ten dollars in 1864 and back to eight in 1865. Agents and newsboys received a single issue for two dollars per hundred and made a penny a copy on their sales. The price rose because of increased telegraphic rates, increased editorial staff, higher printers' wages and higher cost of papers.²⁸

A storm that blocked the trains meant only that the editors could not clip from the Burlington and Montpelier dailies and had to fill with older news from other papers. When a page was pried they used the same filler but missed the Saratoga train.²⁹

Gone were the days of leisurely personal journalism. All the night telegraph dispatches and much of the news and communications had to be set in type, proofread, corrected and sent to press between nine at night and three in the morning, in order to get the papers off by the early trains. While the power press speeded the end process, there was no linotype to save the labor of typesetters. Bellows Falls had the latest news by eight o'clock the next morning.³⁰ Consequently typography was poor to begin with and the editors disclaimed responsibility for the wild telegraphic rumors they published.³¹

A newspaper staff had once consisted of a printer, a few helpers and an editor who found plenty of time for playing politics and perhaps

27. *Herald*, August 12, October 8, 31, 1861.

28. *Herald*, October 30, 1861, October 17, 1862, December 21, 1863, February 10, May 9, August 6, 1864, July 1, 1865.

29. *Herald*, January 28, March 17, 1862, July 16, 1863.

30. *Herald*, December 28, 1861.

31. *Herald*, May 30, 1861.

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running another small business. Now there were twelve to twenty printers, an editor-in-chief, one or two associates, a local editor, a legislative correspondent, town correspondents, and all the extra help needed to keep up with deadlines. Some members of this staff, however, worked only part time. In 1864 the enterprising publisher planned another step in the direction of modern journalism — a second edition consisting of the morning telegraphic dispatches, prepared in time for the afternoon trains.³²

Headlines and extras appeared at every war crisis; excess advertising and national news sometimes spilled over into three-column supplements. The *Herald* began to print its latest Associated Press dispatches on the front page, modern style. At the news of Burnside's victory on Roanoke Island and Grant's capture of Fort Donelson the "literary" miscellany and some advertisements were replaced on page one by telegraphic reports with a whole column of headlines.³³ When word of Lincoln's assassination came on Good Friday, a Fast Day that year in Vermont, the force gave up its day off and prepared an extra.³⁴

In December, 1865, the telegraph company ran its wires into the *Herald* editorial rooms and put a special set of instruments there for the paper's use. Through this arrangement local news could be sent direct to the *Herald* by operators along the line.³⁵ Rutland with 9834 inhabitants was the second largest town in Vermont in 1870. The daily *Herald*, sent to 1,540 subscribers, was well ahead of the Burlington and St. Albans dailies.³⁶

The *Herald* was not the only weekly to try a daily edition after the outbreak of the Civil War. The Montpelier *Green Mountain Freeman* started one in April, 1861, but discontinued it at the end of 1863. It blamed its failure on the high cost of materials, small circulation and a few advertisements.³⁷ The daily *Caledonian* had a shorter career, stopping in July, 1861, because it could not sell a hundred copies in

32. *Herald*, May 9, 1864. File copies are of the first edition only. The idea was evidently shelved. The daily *Free Press*, which had been an evening paper, added a morning edition on July 9, 1868. The evening edition was dropped soon after the merger with the *Times*.

33. *Herald*, February 13, 18, 1862.

34. *Herald*, April 15, 1865.

35. The instrument was Hicks' repeater with Milliken's improvement. *Herald*, December 4, 1865, February 22, 1866.

36. Perhaps the fact that forty-three per cent of Burlington's 14,387 people were foreign born cut down the *Free Press*' potential audience.

37. *Free Press*, January 4, 1864.

St. Johnsbury.³⁸ During the draft excitement in the summer of 1863 the Montpelier *Argus and Patriot* appeared as a daily, but as the competing *Watchman* acidly remarked, it was "Money thrown away."³⁹

The *Watchman*, however, had already started a year-around daily which lasted until 1869.⁴⁰ E. P. Walton said that he had continued it after the Civil War out of pride that the capital should support its own daily. J. and J. M. Poland, who succeeded him in 1868, asserted that it had failed to make expenses. They laid this failure to Montpelier's small population,⁴¹ poor distribution facilities, and competition from the dailies of larger cities. The *Free Press* commented that the daily *Watchman* could have continued if it had followed popular demand more closely and wanted to raise enough money to cover the immensely increased cost of publication. (The *Free Press* had raised the necessary capital by incorporating as the Free Press Association in July, 1868.)⁴² It added that the daily *Watchman* had clipped liberally from Burlington dailies. Henceforth the *Free Press* would be delivered in Montpelier, publish more capital locals and win more subscribers than the *Watchman* ever had.⁴³

The St. Albans *Messenger*, equipped with a power press by 1860,⁴⁴ tried in 1861; suspended; then revived late in 1863 to continue through difficulties until 1870.⁴⁵ In spite of a wide circulation during the War the publishers complained that their profits amounted to no more than the wages of two printers. In 1869 they claimed 5,000 readers of the weekly or daily. As with the Burlington daily *Times*, wide circulation did not necessarily mean prosperity. The daily *Messenger* cost four cents a copy or \$2.25 per quarter to subscribers, and yet in 1870 the publishers were carrying \$1,776 in accounts receivable, a quarter of which were estimated uncollectible.⁴⁶ Competition from the St. Albans daily *Transcript*, started in 1868, was part of the

38. "Z" to *Herald*, July 15, 1861.

39. *Watchman*, August 21, 1863.

40. *Watchman*, October 2, 1862.

41. 3023 in 1870; the 1870 total for Montpelier, East Montpelier and Barre was 6035.

42. *Free Press*, January 2, 1869.

43. *Free Press*, July 13, 1869. The *Watchman* and *State Journal* was referred to in this period as the *Journal*.

44. U.S. MS. Census.

45. *Herald*, December 9, 1861, October 5, 1863.

46. *Messenger*, January 7, 1869; *Free Press*, February 22, 1870, quoting *Messenger*. The report does not show what proportion of unpaid bills were for advertising, jobbing or subscriptions.

trouble.⁴⁷ "The patronage was too small to be divided," the *Messenger and Transcript* announced after their merger in 1870.⁴⁸ St. Albans, however, was by then big enough to support one daily.⁴⁹ The growth of the railroad car and machine shops had helped boost its population from 3637 in 1860 to 7014 in 1870, and from then on the *Messenger* was able to continue.⁵⁰

In 1870 the conditions required for a prosperous daily existed only in three Champlain valley towns on the New York to Montreal line of communication. In these towns daily newspapers were firmly established and have been published continuously ever since.⁵¹

47. *Woodstock Spirit of the Age*, May 14, 1868.

48. *Messenger and Transcript*, August 12, 1870.

49. A population of 7,000 rather than the 8,000 considered by the U.S. Census as the lower limit of urban population apparently provided enough local patrons. East of the Mississippi in 1880, 205 out of 262 towns with dailies had 7,000 or more people; 31 out of the remaining 57 had less than 4,000. In New England, no town with a daily had less than 7,000 (S. N. D. North, *History and present condition of the newspaper and periodical press of the United States*. Washington, 1884 [U.S. Census Office, Tenth Census, v. 8], pp. 66-72).

50. The merged paper soon was called simply the *Messenger*.

51. There are today (1946) ten dailies in the state. In addition to the three treated in this article, there appeared successively, at later dates: *Barre Daily Times*, *Bennington Banner*, *Brattleboro Reformer*, *Burlington Daily News*, *Montpelier Argus*, *Newport Express*, and *St. Johnsbury Caledonian*. Editor

THE EVOLUTION OF THE VERMONT STATE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE¹

By EDWIN C. ROZWENC

Associate Professor of History, Amherst College

THE earliest organized attempts to improve agriculture in the United States were made in the years immediately following the American Revolution. Many outstanding leaders in the new nation, including Washington, Jefferson, and John Adams, were familiar with the revolutionary changes in English agriculture and were anxious to popularize the knowledge of the new farming in America. To collect and disseminate information concerning the new agriculture, private agricultural societies were organized in imitation of those which had been organized by the gentleman farmers of England. The Philadelphia Society for Promoting Agriculture and the State Agricultural Society in Charleston, South Carolina, both founded in 1785, were pioneer organizations in this early educational effort. By 1800, there were perhaps a dozen similar societies scattered along the Atlantic seaboard in such centers as Boston, New York, and New Haven.²

These first societies were very learned in character. Their membership included merchants, lawyers, doctors, ministers, and other gentlemen whose interest in agriculture was often secondary. The ordinary working farmers were largely untouched by the high-flown activities of these genteel agriculturists. Nevertheless, it was a gentleman farmer who established the first agricultural society which appealed to the practical farmer. This gentleman farmer was Elkanah Watson, a

1. This article deals with one aspect of the author's forthcoming book, *Agricultural Policies in Vermont, 1870-1945*. Research for this study was made possible by a grant from the Vermont State Historical Society supplemented by a grant from the Department of History and International Relations of Clark University.

2. The story of these early agricultural societies is summarized in Bidwell, Percy W., and Falconer, John I., *History of Agriculture in the Northern United States, 1620-1860* (Washington, 1925), 184-187; Neely, Wayne Caldwell, *The Agricultural Fair* (New York, 1935), 41-46.

successful businessman and banker, who organized a "cattle show" in the public square of Pittsfield, Massachusetts, in 1810 as one means of persuading the farmers of the vicinity to organize an agricultural society on a new plan. His efforts were rewarded with the incorporation of the Berkshire Agriculture Society the following year to develop further such practical methods of agricultural education. The almost immediate success of the Berkshire Society stimulated the formation of other societies on the Berkshire plan. By 1819, such societies were organized in practically all of the counties of the New England states (Rhode Island excepted) and the movement was spreading rapidly in New York, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Ohio, and Illinois.³

In addition to aiding personally in the organization of numerous societies in New England and New York and instigating the formation of others by his correspondence and propagandist activities, Watson worked hard to persuade the states to give financial aid to these county agricultural societies and to establish state boards of agriculture.⁴ Beginning with New Hampshire in 1817, several states did extend financial aid to these newly formed county societies. Moreover, the New York law of 1819, and the New Hampshire law of 1820, provided further for the setting up of a state board of agriculture to consist of the presidents of the county agricultural societies or delegates chosen in their stead. The withdrawal of state aid within a few years, however, caused a rapid decline of this promising movement in agricultural organization.⁵

For more than a decade agricultural organization remained at a low level in the United States. In the late thirties signs of an awakening interest were apparent. State legislatures began to receive petitions from all sides to make appropriations in aid of county agricultural societies and to create state boards of agriculture. The growing farm press emphasized the need for such state aid.⁶ State legislatures responded with appropriations in aid of agricultural societies which stimulated the rapid increase in agricultural organization after 1840. At the same time there were new efforts to establish public agricultural agencies. In New York, a law of 1841 designated the reorganized State Agricultural Society to act as a state board of agriculture and

3. Neely, *op. cit.*, 59-70.

4. *Ibid.*, 70.

5. Bidwell and Falconer, *op. cit.*, 189.

6. Demaree, Albert Lowther, *The American Agricultural Press, 1819-1860* (New York, 1941), 55.

provided it with a share of the state funds appropriated for agricultural purposes. In 1852, the legislature of Massachusetts set up a State Board of Agriculture to consist of the Governor, three public members appointed by the Governor and Council, and one delegate from each incorporated agricultural society receiving state aid. A state agricultural board similar to that in Massachusetts was revived in New Hampshire but enjoyed only a paper existence in the twenty-five years before the establishment of a new Board of Agriculture on a completely public basis in 1870.⁷ These early semi-public state boards of agriculture mark an interesting transition from private agricultural organizations to public agricultural agencies in the states.⁸

Vermont was slower than her neighbors to create a state agency devoted primarily to agriculture. In 1860, Governor Erastus Fairbanks, in his executive address to the legislature, "respectfully invited" the attention of the General Assembly to the question of providing for a Board of Agriculture as one means of exercising "the fostering care (of agriculture) which it becomes the legislature to maintain."⁹ Although he made no references to them, Governor Fairbanks was undoubtedly aware of the existence of such boards of agriculture in New York and Massachusetts. It is possible, too, that he was influenced by the contemporary agitation for a national department of agriculture which was to have fruition in the law of 1862 creating the United States Department of Agriculture.¹⁰ Nevertheless, the General Assembly of Vermont preferred to leave agriculture to the fostering care of the several local agricultural societies which were receiving subsidies from the State Treasury.¹¹ In any case, the coming of the Civil War produced other problems which must have seemed more important to the legislature.

7. United States Department of Agriculture, *Report*, 1875, New York law summarized, 457; Massachusetts, 448; New Hampshire, 455-456.

8. A brief analysis of this transition can be found in Wiest, Edward, *Agricultural Organization in the United States* (Lexington, Ky., 1923), 291-295.

9. *Executive Address delivered before the General Assembly of the State of Vermont, by his Excellency, Erastus Fairbanks*, 1860, 12.

10. The farm press was vociferous in its demands for a federal department of agriculture with a secretary who should be a cabinet member. Demaree, *op. cit.*, 56.

11. *Laws of Vermont*, 1843, 14-16. This law authorized payments to local societies in that proportion of \$2,000 which the population of the county in which the society was located bore to the total population of the state. This state aid was withdrawn in 1861 by an act repealing previous legislation on this subject. *Laws of Vermont*, 1861, 34-35.

The difficult years immediately after the Civil War caused many Vermont farmers to realize the increasing unprofitableness of producing cereals, meat and wool in competition with the West. It was in this period that migration from Vermont and the abandonment of farms reached noticeable proportions.¹² This discouraging outlook was reflected in the requests made by Governor John B. Page in 1867¹³ and by his successor, Governor Peter Washburn in 1869,¹⁴ to the legislature to consider ways and means by which the resources of the state could be developed. Both Governors called the attention of the legislature to the large number of young men leaving Vermont for the West. Although neither Governor Page nor Governor Washburn represented in his direct personal interests the farming interest of Vermont, both were active in the development of railroads in Vermont and could, therefore, be expected to have a strong desire to see Vermont's resources developed in every possible field.¹⁵ As a matter of fact, there is no evidence that there was any pressure from farmers' groups in Vermont for the establishment of a state board of agriculture. Seemingly, the farmers were indifferent to the establishment of any public agency which would devote its attention to the improvement of agriculture.¹⁶

At any rate, the legislation establishing Vermont's first Board of Agriculture grew out of the concern for the general development of Vermont's resources which had been expressed by Governors Page and Washburn. On October 11, 1870, Charles Heath of Plainfield, a lawyer of considerable reputation in Vermont and a former school-

12. Stilwell, Lewis D., *Migration From Vermont, 1776-1860* (Vermont Historical Society, Montpelier, Vt., 1937), 214-230. Also, Wilson, Harold Fisher, *The Hill Country of Northern New England* (New York, 1936), 48-55.

13. *Vermont House Journal*, 1867, 32-33.

14. *Vermont House Journal*, 1869, 27-28.

15. Crockett, Walter Hill, *Vermont, the Green Mountain State* (New York, 1921), 30-31 for a sketch of Page's career; 38-42 for a sketch of Washburn's career.

16. Dean Joseph L. Hills declares that, in view of the lack of evidence of petitions or resolutions in the legislature, the State Board of Agriculture "was not born of farmer demands." Hills, Joseph L., *The State Agricultural College, "State Board of Agriculture,"* 1. (This history of the State Agricultural College and related agricultural agencies is in manuscript. Dean Hills generously permitted the author to make unrestricted use of his material which is the accumulation of years of research and personal experience with many agricultural activities in Vermont.)

teacher who retained a life-long interest in education,¹⁷ introduced in the Senate a mild resolution urging "that the Committee on Agriculture be directed to inquire into the expediency of establishing a commission for the promotion of agriculture, manufactures, quarrying and mining."¹⁸ The Senate saw fit to instruct the Committee on Agriculture to make such an inquiry. In the closing days of the session, the Committee on Agriculture submitted a report and a bill to establish a "Board of Agriculture, Mining, and Statistics," prodding the Senate into action with the reminder that Vermont "stands alone" among the New England states in not having such a Board.¹⁹ It is not possible to ascertain whether hurt pride or the enthusiasm to get home was the prime moving force but the bill was put through both houses of the General Assembly in the last two days of the session.²⁰

In this fashion, the legislature established Vermont's Board of Agriculture, Manufactures and Mining.²¹ The Act provided for a Board to be composed of the Governor, the President of the State Agricultural College, and six other persons to be nominated by the Governor and confirmed by the Senate. In addition, the Board was authorized to appoint a Secretary who was to be a member, *ex officio*. The Board was required to make "statistical and other investigations and recommendations in regard to the condition of agriculture, horticulture, manufactures and mining" and to publish these in a report. Also, the Board was directed to hold at least one public meeting of "not more than three days' duration" each year "for the dissemination of knowledge on the subject matter of their investigations." The functions of the new Board, therefore, were to be investigatory and educational.

Apparently, the intention of the legislature was to create a Board which would devote as much time to manufactures and mining as to agriculture. At least this was Senator Heath's understanding of the legislature's purposes. Heath, who was appointed to the new Board, emphasized in an address at a public meeting of the Board in Montpelier, "Not only must the spur be applied to agriculture, but we must

17. Willard, Ashton H., "Charles H. Heath," *Vermont Bar Association Proceedings*, 1889, 196-247.

18. *Vermont Senate Journal*, 1870, 39.

19. *Ibid.*, 263; for copy of the Committee's report, 335. The Committee was slightly inaccurate. Rhode Island did not have a Board of Agriculture until 1892. See Wilson, *Hill Country of Northern New England*, 177.

20. *Vermont House Journal*, 1870, 413.

21. The official title in the final version of the Act, *Laws of Vermont*, 1870, No. 87.

push on the development of our quarries and mines, and introduce manufactures of various sorts that may be profitably engaged in." It was his belief that only by such a balance development of her potentialities could Vermont hold her position among the states and check the movement of population to the western states.²²

Nevertheless, the composition of the first Board of Agriculture, Manufactures and Mining was weighted in favor of the agricultural interest. Four of Governor Stewart's six appointees were closely identified with farming interests. Most notable was ex-Governor Frederick Holbrook, designer of agricultural tools, President of the Vermont Agricultural Society in the 1850's and well-known correspondent for the *Albany Cultivator* and the *New England Farmer*.²³ Ex-Governor Holbrook would have given much prestige to the new Board, but he declined the appointment and the first Board carried on with only five appointed members. The other appointed members representing agricultural interests were Noah Stafford, Windsor County farmer and member of the House of Representatives in the legislature of 1870,²⁴ Alfred W. Halbert of Essex, farmer and local politician,²⁵ and Zuar E. Jameson, cattle breeder, horticulturist, correspondent for the *New York Tribune*, *Country Gentleman* and *Vermont Farmer*, and secretary of the Orleans County Agricultural Society.²⁶ Charles Heath presumably represented the interests of manufacturing and Pitt W. Hyde, Rutland County marble dealer,²⁷ was qualified to speak for the quarrying interests. This group elected as the Secretary of the Board Peter Collier, Professor of Chemistry at the University of Vermont and State Agricultural College.

From the very start, the new establishment was primarily a Board of *Agriculture*. Jameson and Collier, who were vitally concerned with agricultural improvement, were the only active members of the Board during the first two years of its operations. Professor Collier was pres-

22. Vermont State Board of Agriculture, *First Annual Report*, 1872, 43.

23. Cabot, Mary R., comp., *Annals of Brattleboro*, 1681-1895 (Brattleboro, 1922), II, 788-796.

24. Child, Hamilton, *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Windsor County, Vermont* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1884), 374.

25. Child, Hamilton, *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Chittenden County, Vermont* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1882), 308.

26. Child, Hamilton, *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Lamoille and Orleans Counties, Vermont* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1883), 514.

27. Child, Hamilton, *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Rutland County, Vermont* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1881), 298.

ent at every one of the nine public meetings of the Board and Zuar Jameson took an active part in all except one. Of the other members only Charles Heath, who addressed two meetings, attended more than one meeting of the Board, even though the legislature had provided for payment of traveling expenses and a per diem compensation.²⁸ Evidence of the predominant emphasis on the promotion of agriculture can be found in the greatly disproportionate amount of space given to agricultural topics in the *First Annual Report* of the Board. Only eighty of the approximately seven hundred pages of that report are devoted to manufacturing and mining — the rest are taken up with agricultural matters.

On the whole, the educational efforts of the Board in these first two years were not full of much promise. Attendance at the public meetings was evidently very meagre for Secretary Collier found it necessary to explain in his first report that "want of information as to the fine character of the meetings to be held has, in nearly every instance, prevented full attendance."²⁹ This tends to confirm the existence of a considerable amount of indifference among the farmers of Vermont towards the establishment of this new agency.

It may have been the failure of the Board to stimulate public interest as well as the negligence of most of its members which prompted the efforts made in both houses of the legislature in 1872 to abolish the new establishment. The legislature, however, refused to end the experiment so soon, or to reduce the appropriation for its support. The *Rutland Weekly Herald* probably voiced the views of the majority of the legislators when it warned, "Vermont was slow to establish this bureau and it should hesitate long before it shall do anything to cripple, much less to abolish it."³⁰

The Board of Agriculture, Manufactures and Mining, undoubtedly conscious of its probationary status, increased its activities in a marked fashion in the next biennium. Nineteen public meetings in various towns of the state were held between January, 1873, and October, 1874.³¹ The *Vermont Watchman* reported the growing interest of the farmers in these meetings and rejoiced that ". . . one of our state institutions at least . . . has an element of life in it, . . .

28. Vermont State Board of Agriculture, *First Annual Report*, 1872, 12-28.

29. *Ibid.*, 12.

30. *Rutland Weekly Herald*, November 21, 1872.

31. Vermont State Board of Agriculture, *Second Annual Report*, 1873-4, 5-6.

and promises to be of great benefit to the leading branch of industry in the State."⁸² The Board was certainly enjoying more public favor notwithstanding the appearance of objections in 1874 "that lectures delivered and papers read are often repeated at each meeting, thus being somewhat stale to those who attend more than one session, and also such as read the reports in the newspapers."⁸³

This hopeful progress was seriously threatened by the Board's involvement in what became one of the most persistent political issues for the farmers of Vermont in this period — the management of the State Agricultural College. In January, 1874, three members of the Board gave public expression at a meeting in Randolph to the growing dissatisfaction of many farmers with the State Agricultural College. This was followed up by the attempt of Zuar Jameson in a business meeting of the Board of Agriculture in August, 1874, to secure the adoption of a resolution in reference to the Agricultural College. This resolution was "postponed" and unfortunately for the historian, its content was not reported by Secretary Collier.⁸⁴ There is good reason to suppose that these attacks led to the legislative investigation of the University of Vermont and State Agricultural College in the fall of 1874 from which that institution emerged substantially unscathed.⁸⁵

Not so fortunate, however, were Messrs. Jameson, Hoskins,⁸⁶ and Douglass⁸⁷ who had spoken their minds on the subject in the meeting at Randolph. The new Governor, Asahel Peck, a University of Vermont alumnus,⁸⁸ made a clean sweep of the Board of Agriculture by not reappointing any member of the Board for the biennium 1875-1876. Zuar Jameson was convinced that this was the result of "University influence" and that he and his colleagues had been "removed"

32. Montpelier *Vermont Watchman*, January 29, 1873.

33. *New England Farmer*, November 7, 1874.

34. Hills, J. L., *State Agricultural College* (hereafter cited as Hills Ms.), "Board of Agriculture," 3. See also Hills, Joseph L., *Five and Fifty Years* (Bulletin 515, Vermont Agricultural Experiment Station), 21.

35. Vermont State Board of Agriculture, *Report*, 1873-4, 785-790, for copy of the report of the special committee of House and Senate.

36. Dr. T. H. Hoskins of Newport, leading horticulturist and agricultural editor of the *Vermont Watchman* during much of this period, appointed to the Board in 1872.

37. Francis D. Douglass of Whiting, merino sheep breeder and breeder of Durham and Jersey cattle. Child, Hamilton, *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Addison County, Vermont* (Syracuse, N.Y., 1882), 464. Appointed to the Board in 1872.

38. Crockett, W. H., *Vermont*, IV, 67.

for expressing opinions adverse to the University's management of the land grant fund.³⁹ Dr. Hoskins, in his agricultural column in the *Vermont Watchman*, suggested that the members of the Board of Agriculture should be chosen by county agriculture societies as in Massachusetts and Maine. Such a method, it was his opinion, would provide "a more representative body," relieve the Governor of "an embarrassing duty," and prevent the possibility of any "underhanded work."⁴⁰

The destiny of Vermont's Board of Agriculture was becoming more clearly marked. The developing political consciousness of the farmers made the Board a lively issue in agrarian politics. This political fervor was kept at a high pitch until the end of the century by the continuous agitation of the agricultural college question, the aggressive pressure politics of the newly-organized Vermont State Grange,⁴¹ and, to some extent, by the personal political activities of the leaders of the Vermont Dairyman's Association.⁴² The essentially political character of the six appointive posts on the Board of Agriculture made that agency one of the bridgeheads of influence which the conflicting interests in state politics sought to control. Hence the Board was frequently under fire from whatever groups were dissatisfied with its make-up. In the thirty-eight years of the Board's history, "it was always 'open season' during legislative sessions" and for some the hunting was good.⁴³

The field of battle was largely abandoned by the manufacturing and mining interests, at least so far as the work of the Board was concerned. In response to Governor Fairbanks' recommendation, in 1876, that the appropriation of the Board of Agriculture, Manufactures and Mining be increased, the legislature proceeded to modify the original act so as to exclude the words "Manufactures and Mining," and make the agency a Board of *Agriculture*.⁴⁴ The new law

39. *Vermont Watchman*, November 24, 1875, signed article by Jameson.

40. *Vermont Watchman*, January 26, 1876.

41. See Horton, Guy A., *The Grange in Vermont* (Montpelier, Vermont, 1926), 25-50.

42. The Vermont Dairyman's Association was organized in Montpelier, Vermont, October 27, 1869, to protect the interests of dairying. This association held annual public meetings at which agricultural topics were discussed and published annual reports. Its work during these years was very similar to that of the Board of Agriculture established a year later. See report of Secretary Bliss entitled "Retrospective" in *Forth Annual Report*, of the Vermont Dairyman's Association, 1872-3, 181-186.

43. Quotation from Hills Ms., "State Board of Agriculture," 6.

44. *Laws of Vermont*, 1876, No. 2.

simply confirmed what had become established in the practice of the Board since its creation in 1870. The farming interests which had been so apathetic concerning the creation of the Board of Agriculture, Manufactures and Mining, had captured the new agency completely in the first years of their awakening political consciousness.

At the same time, Governor Fairbanks exercised his "embarrassing duty" of making appointments to the Board of Agriculture with gusto. Four new men who were presumably valuable political friends were appointed to the Board.⁴⁵ Of the four members of the Board who were dropped, one was Colonel John B. Mead of Randolph, a Civil War veteran and prominent cattle and horse breeder — and apparently not without political ambitions.⁴⁶ Thus several more men were added to the growing number of ex-members of the Board of Agriculture who might choose to grind political axes.

At any rate, the legislature of 1878 broke out in a rash of proposals to abolish or change the Board of Agriculture. No less than five bills on the subject were introduced in the House⁴⁷ and one in the Senate. The Senate bill which abolished the Board of Agriculture and set up instead a "State Superintendent of Agricultural Affairs" emerged from the legislative melee with the approval of both houses. Colonel John B. Mead was a member of the Senate in which the bill had originated and, in one of those coincidences which are so fascinating to the historian, was appointed Superintendent of Agricultural Affairs by Governor Proctor.⁴⁸ Dr. Hoskins, himself a victim of the political vicissitudes of the Board of Agriculture, insisted in his agricultural column in the *Watchman* that the abolition of the Board was accomplished by "cunning men, who are naturally seekers for office."⁴⁹ On the other hand, Hoskins repeatedly maintained that Colonel Mead was

45. See Vermont State Board of Agriculture, *Report*, 1878, 3, for changes in membership.

46. Child, Hamilton, *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Orange County* (Syracuse, 1888), 97, 363; Colonel Mead was one of Fairbanks' opponents for the Republican nomination for Governor in 1876, Crockett, W. H., *Vermont*, IV, 77-78. Since the Republican nomination was tantamount to election the contest within the Republican party was always a serious business.

47. *Vermont House Journal*, H. 24, 176, 185, 186, 207.

48. *Vermont Senate Journal*, 1878, 304.

49. *Vermont Watchman*, December 11, 1878. Dean Hills believes that this bill was largely the work of Colonel Mead in the Senate and Zuar Jameson in the House, both ousted members of the Board of Agriculture. Jameson was Chairman of the House Committee on Agriculture and reported on the Senate

well qualified for the Superintendency.⁵⁰ He blamed specifically the Vermont Dairymen's Association and the University of Vermont for the abolition of the Board, the one because it regarded the Board as a rival and the other because it feared "intelligent criticism" of the State Agricultural College.⁵¹

This one-man agricultural department was not destined to last long. The handwriting was on the wall very early in Mead's superintendency. Mead had hardly been in office a few weeks when Dr. Hoskins reported in the *Vermont Watchman* that "the general demand is for a restoration of the Board."⁵² Mead was experiencing considerable difficulty in carrying on the public meetings of the department and was running a gantlet of criticism even from the "very men" who had wished to abolish the Board.⁵³ The first and only report of the Superintendent of Agricultural Affairs was extremely apologetic in tone and the Superintendent expressed doubts concerning the expediency of a change which had placed such an "arduous task" in the hands of one man "be he ever so able or worthy." The task must have been very arduous, indeed, because Superintendent Mead carried on his labors "in nearly one hundred and fifty towns of the State," although details of only seven of these meetings were included in his report. Moreover, Superintendent Mead expressed regret that "not quite as many towns had been visited as have called for meetings."⁵⁴

It is not strange, therefore, that the next legislature was willing to reconsider its action in abolishing the Board of Agriculture. A bill to re-establish the Board was passed by both Houses in 1880. The make-up of the re-established Board was the same as the old Board except that the Secretary was to be chosen from one of the six appointed members of the Board.⁵⁵ Governor Farnham appointed Colonel John

bill favorably. One curious aspect is that both of these gentlemen voted against the bill, although Hills believes that this was done to cover their tracks. Hills Ms., "State Board of Agriculture," 7-8.

50. *Vermont Watchman*, December 11, 1878, February 26, 1879.

51. *Ibid.*, January 15, 1879; cf. *Burlington Free Press*, January 6, 1879, concerning "jealousies and bickerings" between the Board and the Vermont Dairymen's Association. It is also interesting to note that Col. Mead was a life member of the Vermont Dairymen's Association at this time. *Eighth Annual Report*, Vermont Dairymen's Association, 1877, 4.

52. *Vermont Watchman*, February 26, 1879.

53. *Ibid.*

54. Superintendent of Agricultural Affairs, *Sixth Report Upon Vermont Agriculture*, 1880, 3-4, 298-330.

55. *Laws of Vermont*, 1880, 121-22.

Mead to the new Board with the expectation that he would act as Secretary, but Mead resigned on account of other business.⁵⁶

Although there were no sweeping changes in personnel in the next few years, the new Board's position was still precarious. In three successive legislatures, attempts were made to abolish or change the Board of Agriculture, but only once did such a move reach menacing proportions. In 1886, during the debate upon a bill to establish an agricultural experiment station, the House of Representatives adopted an amendment to the bill abolishing the Board of Agriculture. The Board was saved in the Senate by the narrowest of margins only through the casting vote of Lieutenant Governor Fuller. This amendment was probably inspired in part by the belief that the experiment station could exercise better some of the Board's functions, such as analyzing fertilizers and publishing reports dealing with various improvements in agriculture. Nevertheless, considerable resentment towards the Board had developed because of the feeling that it had slighted smaller towns in arranging for public meetings.⁵⁷

For the next ten years, the Board enjoyed comparatively smooth sailing. More than that, the legislature saw fit to increase its appropriations and expand its functions. In 1892, the per diem compensation of Board members was increased and the total expense limit of the Board was raised from \$2,500 to \$5,000. Although the work of conducting "farmer's institutes" was still the Board's main job, the Board was also called upon to make separate reports on the resources and advantages of Vermont to attract capital and tourists. Also, the Board of Cattle Commissioners which had been created to deal with cattle diseases in 1884 was abolished and its duties were transferred to the Board of Agriculture.⁵⁸ The Board of Agriculture was certainly riding high with these unaccustomed evidences of legislative favor.

These added responsibilities soon brought new and more aggravating problems for the Board. The duties of the Cattle Commission were not regarded as burdensome at the time they were given to the Board. No one, then, foresaw the furor over the question of bovine tuberculosis which was to agitate agricultural interests in the state for thirty years. The first black cloud appeared on the horizon in 1894

56. Vermont State Board of Agriculture, *Report*, 1881-82, 3; Mead became President of the Vermont Dairymen's Association, *Thirteenth Annual Report*, Vermont Dairymen's Association, 1882, 420.

57. *Vermont Watchman*, December 15, 1886.

58. *Laws of Vermont*, 1892, No. 7.

with the discovery that the dairy herd of the Vermont Agricultural Experiment Station(!) was riddled with tuberculosis. The situation at the Station was reported to the annual meeting of the Vermont Dairymen's Association by Director Hills and alarm seized the hitherto complacent dairymen of Vermont. Excitement in the state increased when it was learned that butter made at the Station farm had been sold to some of the "best families and grocers" in the area. The Experiment Station published a thoroughly-prepared bulletin on *Bovine Tuberculosis* in mid-summer of 1894 and the legislature of that year met with a determination to face this threat to Vermont's dairying industry.⁵⁹

The legislature of 1894 empowered the Board of Agriculture to investigate the prevalence of tuberculosis in Vermont herds. However, the Board could apply the tuberculin test only with the consent of the owner of a herd. To induce voluntary co-operation with the testing program, the Act of 1894 provided for the payment of an indemnity to owners of condemned cows to the amount of one-half of the appraised value (appraisal not to exceed forty dollars).⁶⁰ Although there were some who doubted that the Board was competent to handle the testing program,⁶¹ the legislature preferred to keep this large scale testing program in the hands of the Board of Agriculture.

In the course of the next three years, the major part of the Board's work was devoted to the tuberculin testing program. In that period some sixty thousand cattle were tested of which 2,390 were slaughtered.⁶² Some farmers suffered heavily and fear and suspicion gripped many others. Many farmers began to question the reliability of the Board's tests. In the midst of this developing antagonism towards its work, the Board became a bone of contention between rival political factions. Governor Josiah Grout, in 1896, had exercised his authority under the law of 1892 to appoint two additional members to the Board. This, together with the political nature⁶³ of all of his appointments to the Board, produced a determination on the part of a large group in the legislature of 1898 to destroy the Board of Agriculture. The

59. Hills, J. L., *Five and Fifty Years*, 49-50. Quotation from *Rutland Weekly Herald*, January 11, 1894.

60. *Laws of Vermont*, 1894, 90.

61. See *Rutland Herald*, November 22, 1894, for report of the debate in the House. Also the proposal of the *Vermont Watchman* for a separate Cattle Commission, November 7, 1894.

62. Vermont State Board of Agriculture, *Report*, 1898, 171.

63. *Vermont Watchman*, November 30, 1898.

Board was saved again, as it had been in 1886, by the refusal of the Senate to concur with a House bill abolishing the Board. The fight to abolish the Board, however, was one of the most spectacular battles in the legislative session of 1898. Tempers ran so high at one point in the debate that several members of the House were "in such a condition that they could not tell which way they were voting."⁶⁴ The Board was saved at the price of the Senate's compromise proposal to reduce membership on the Board of Agriculture. This reduction of the Board's membership gave at least partial satisfaction to the group in the House which had been so aroused by Grout's "political appointments."⁶⁵

The purged Board was not destined to win much popularity. Dissatisfaction with the tuberculin tests was increasing. In 1900, an attempt was made to divorce the Board from its functions relating to livestock diseases. This time the House of Representatives assumed the role of protector of the Board by rejecting a Senate bill to set up a separate cattle commissioner.⁶⁶ The Board continued grimly to carry on its testing work in the face of mounting opposition from frightened and ignorant farmers. Excitement increased in the spring of 1901 when the Board used its quarantine powers to force a prominent Williston farmer to have his herds tested. One hundred and eighteen of his cows were condemned by the Board, and farmers in the Williston area were literally up in arms. Some of them were heard to suggest that members of the Board ought to "be shot like the cows."⁶⁷ It was impossible to resist the tide of opposition any longer. In 1902, the legislature took away from the Board its powers relating to livestock diseases and gave them to a newly-created Board of Cattle Commissioners. The Board of Cattle Commissioners was to be made up of three members, appointed by the Governor, one of whom had to be a "practical farmer," the other two graduates of a reputable veterinary college.⁶⁸ This new Board was to confine itself solely to the administration of the laws respecting livestock diseases, and presumably would

64. *Burlington Free Press*, November 18, 1898.

65. Dean Hills believes that it is probable that Governor Grout was building up support for the Senatorial ambitions of his brother, Congressman W. W. Grout. Hills Ms., "Board of Agriculture," 11. In any case, the main battle for the seat in the U.S. Senate left vacant by Morrill's death was between Grout and Dillingham.

66. *Vermont House Journal*, 1900, 470.

67. *Burlington Free Press*, May 11, 1901.

68. *Laws of Vermont*, 1902, No. 85.

command more confidence from the farmers in the campaign against bovine tuberculosis.

Thus the Board was shorn of some of its most important duties and much of its prestige as well. This loss was partly compensated for in 1904, when the legislature, in response to the awakening interest in forestry, authorized the Governor to designate one of the members of the Board of Agriculture to act as Forestry Commissioner. In addition to supervising the control and prevention of forest fires and to promoting reforestation, the Forestry Commissioner was to carry on educational activities in co-operation with the Board of Agriculture.⁶⁹ The remaining members of the Board devoted their time to conducting farmers meetings, publicizing Vermont in an attractive brochure,⁷⁰ and publishing the biennial reports with the repetitious advice on better farming methods. Nevertheless, an increasing number of Vermonters were of the opinion that the Board was becoming outmoded. Governor Fletcher D. Proctor suggested in his retiring message to the legislature in 1908, that "one competent man can do all the work now performed by the Board." He recommended that the legislature create a "Commissioner of Agriculture" who should be "a man of executive ability, competent to do such office work as is required and to arrange for public meetings." Such a change, according to Governor Proctor, would not save much money but "the results would be better and the administration of this department more business-like."⁷¹

Apparently, Governor Proctor's opinion was shared by members of the Board itself. Representative Ernest Hitchcock, a member of the Board, introduced a bill in the House of Representatives in 1908 to abolish the Board of Agriculture and to create the office of Commissioner of Agriculture. After considerable debate, the measure was adopted (with some changes) by both houses of the legislature.⁷²

Thus, after thirty-eight stormy years, the Vermont State Board of Agriculture ceased its labors. During much of that time the Board had been the victim (and sometimes the cause) of political conflicts. Yet, the Board had done much worthwhile work during these decades, bringing the gospel of better farming to the farmers in the numerous meetings held all over the state every winter. It was a thankless job

69. *Laws of Vermont*, 1904, No. 16.

70. Vermont State Board of Agriculture, *Report*, 1907, 3-4.

71. *Retiring Message of Fletcher D. Proctor, Governor of the State of Vermont to the General Assembly* (Montpelier, 1908), 17.

72. Hills Ms., "State Board of Agriculture," 14-15.

and one which required much diplomacy in view of local rivalries. A member of the Board recalled that,

. . . All sorts of queer happenings occurred. In one case because the meetings were held at one of the two town centers, the other boycotted the gatherings and the roads were picketed to turn would-be attendants from the meeting. In another, it being held in a church vestry room, members of other churches would not come. Because John Smith extended the invitation and was to give an "address of welcome" all who disliked him stayed away.

After a time, the educational activities of the Board had lost their usefulness largely because of the limitations of the methods used. Farmers were lectured at in the public meetings and the Board let it go at that. Many of the papers which were read at these meetings were much too long for audience tolerance and many of the speakers lacked the ability to make their subjects interesting. The development of the extension service in the decade after the Board of Agriculture's demise provided a much more effective educational method based upon the principle of "working *with* the farmer, to get *him* to talk, to think, to reason things out, to determine for himself."⁷³

The establishment of the office of Commissioner of Agriculture in Vermont occurred at a time when many states were doing away with their agricultural boards and commissions and integrating their agricultural activities in a state department of agriculture, with responsibility centered in the hands of the individual heading the department. As a matter of fact, Vermont was among the leaders in this movement to reorganize state agricultural administration.⁷⁴ Nevertheless, the law of 1908 was only a first step in the organization of Vermont's modern department of agriculture. The new Commissioner of Agriculture did not yet have in his hands full control over agricultural activities in the state.

The Act of 1908 was a compromise measure which attempted to reconcile the proposal for complete integration of agricultural activities under the direction of a Commissioner with the desire of many legislators to retain, in part, traditional methods of agricultural administration. In addition to creating the office of Commissioner, the legislature

73. *Ibid.* Quotations taken from pp. 4 and 5. Dean Hills was a member of the Board of Agriculture 1892-1900.

74. Wiest, *op. cit.*, 295-6.

set up a "State Board of Agriculture and Forestry," consisting of the Governor, the director of the Vermont Agricultural Experiment Station, and two citizens of the state "known to be interested in the advancement of agriculture and forestry," who were to be appointed by the Governor. This Board of Agriculture and Forestry was empowered to appoint a professionally trained State Forester who was to hold office "during its pleasure." The State Forester, under the general supervision of the Board of Agriculture and Forestry, was to manage the state forest reserves, enforce state forest laws, assist the Board in the purchase of forest lands, develop a nursery for forest seedlings, direct the program of forest fire protection, and "so far as his other duties permit" to prepare bulletins, deliver addresses, lectures, and demonstrations in forestry. In addition, the Board of Agriculture and Forestry was given authority to apportion appropriations under the Act between agriculture and forestry.⁷⁵ By this cumbersome arrangement, the legislature retained the Board of Agriculture in a chrysalis form until the metabolic processes of time and experience made a complete transformation of Vermont's agricultural administration possible. It meant, of course, that the Commissioner of Agriculture had no direct control over forestry work in the state and was subject to the judgment of the Board of Agriculture and Forestry concerning the vital matter of apportionment of money between agriculture and forestry. Also, the office and duties of the Cattle Commissioner were left outside the reorganization of agricultural activities in 1908.⁷⁶

Actually, the Board of Agriculture and Forestry was a mere "phantom." It performed only the bare minimum of its duties — the appointment of a state forester and the apportionment of appropriations — and met only in the most informal fashion to do so.⁷⁷ Apparently the Board's supervisory functions were forgotten, inasmuch as Governor Graham complained in 1917 that the State Forester had never called on him to pay his respects or give information on forestry interests.⁷⁸ Not until 1917 did the legislature permit this ghost of the old Board of Agriculture to attain the permanent oblivion it deserved.

On the other hand, the prestige and influence of the Commissioner of Agriculture increased measurably in the decade after 1908. This

75. *Laws of Vermont*, 1908, No. 11.

76. The legislature had abolished the Board of Cattle Commissioners in 1906 and placed its powers and duties in the hands of a single Cattle Commissioner.

77. Hills Ms., "State Board of Agriculture," 14-15.

78. As reported in *Burlington Free Press*, January 30, 1917.

resulted primarily from the excellent work done by the competent Commissioners in this period. Vermont's first Commissioner of Agriculture was Orlando Martin, a farmer and schoolmaster from Plainfield who had been an active supporter of the reorganization bill in the legislature of 1908.⁷⁹ Commissioner Martin devoted most of his time to improving the educational work of the agricultural department. He recognized, from the start, the inadequacy of the old "farmers' institutes" with their emphasis on lectures to the farmers. He was active in promoting the first annual "Farmers' Week" at Burlington in cooperation with the State Agricultural College where it was possible to enrich the program with demonstrations.⁸⁰ Commissioner Martin's pet innovation was the creation of a "movable school of agriculture" by means of a special train loaned by the Rutland railroad. The cars in this "Rutland Special" contained exhibits in dairying, horticulture, forestry, and made demonstrations possible in the twenty-four places visited.⁸¹ In 1911, the Commissioner inaugurated a plan of holding demonstration meetings on farms in a few towns with very satisfactory results.⁸²

Other influences, however, were at work in the field of agricultural education which were to make the educational work of Vermont's Department of Agriculture superfluous. Since the beginning of the twentieth century there had been a very rapid development of extension work by state agricultural colleges. In 1907, thirty-nine states were carrying on some form of extension work.⁸³ Dean Hills, of Vermont's State Agricultural College, in an address to the Vermont Dairymen's Association in 1912, urged the legislature of Vermont to follow the example of forty other states and make an appropriation for agricultural extension work in Vermont.⁸⁴ Dean Hills, himself, wrote the state law in 1912, providing for an extension service which passed substantially as he wrote it.⁸⁵ The passage of the Smith-Lever Act by

79. Personal interview with Orlando Martin, December 29, 1944.

80. Commissioner Martin, *Report on Agriculture in Vermont*, 1909, 7.

81. Commissioner of Agriculture, *Report*, 1910, 10-11. The idea of "Better Farming Specials" had originated in the West and was adopted first in New England by the State of Maine, Wilson, H. F., *Hill County of Northern New England*, 251.

82. Commissioner of Agriculture, *Report*, 1913, 7.

83. True, Alfred Charles, *A History of Agricultural Education in the United States* (Washington, 1929), 278.

84. Vermont Dairymen's Association, *42nd Annual Report*, 1912, 56-65.

85. Hills, *Five and Fifty Years*, 43.

Congress in 1914 supplied federal aid for extension work and made possible much more effective agricultural education in every county in Vermont as in other states. It is no reflection upon the educational work of Commissioner Martin to say that it became obsolete with the establishment of the Extension Service in Vermont.

These developments, of course, necessitated a change in emphasis in the work of the Commissioner of Agriculture. But Orlando Martin was not called upon to make those changes. Instead of reappointing Martin in 1912, Governor Fletcher asked Elbert S. Brigham of St. Albans, a Middlebury College graduate and successful farmer who had made a national reputation in developing his seed potato business, to accept the appointment as Commissioner of Agriculture. Governor Fletcher was very much interested in the problem of agricultural marketing which Brigham was well qualified by his experience to handle.⁸⁶

Commissioner Brigham deserves great credit for establishing the Commissionership on a firm basis. This he was able to do, not only because of his remarkable ability as an administrator, but also because his twelve uninterrupted years in office gave him a much longer period of time than the first Commissioner to carry on his work. From the start of his administration, Commissioner Brigham recognized the new problems created by the transition in the Vermont dairying industry from the production of butter and cheese to the shipment of greatly increased quantities of fluid milk to the Boston market.⁸⁷ Consequently, he worked zealously to improve marketing methods and to promote co-operative marketing among the dairy farmers of Vermont. The development of Vermont's co-operative agencies on a large scale occurred under the stimulus of Brigham's leadership.⁸⁸

The excellence of Brigham's work very likely helped influence the legislature in 1917 to consolidate all agricultural activities under the direction of the Commissioner of Agriculture. The setup under the Act of 1908 had never worked satisfactorily, and Governor Graham,

86. Personal interview with E. S. Brigham, September 11, 1945; personal interview with Dean Hills, September 1, 1945. Hills is also of the opinion that Governor Fletcher was cool towards Martin because of certain political differences which had developed during Fletcher's campaign for the Governorship.

87. See Wilson, H. F., *Hill Country of Northern New England*, Chap. XV, for an excellent analysis of these changes in dairy industry of northern New England.

88. Commissioner of Agriculture, *Report*, 1918-20, 13-15, contains report on progress of co-operative marketing. See also laudatory editorial in *Burlington Free Press*, September 15, 1915.

who was interested in reorganizing state administrative departments all along the line, urged the legislature of 1917 to place under the control of the Commissioner of Agriculture "all of the duties now performed by the Board of Agriculture and Forestry, the Commissioner of Agriculture, the State Forester, the Livestock Commissioner and the State Ornithologist . . ."⁸⁹ This bill, which had Brigham's support,⁹⁰ was passed by the legislature in the form recommended by Governor Graham.⁹¹ Thus, Vermont, in 1917, joined the ranks of states with completely integrated departments of agriculture.

The reorganization of the Department of Agriculture gave Commissioner Brigham an opportunity to make another outstanding contribution. With the transfer of the Livestock Commissioner's duties to the Department of Agriculture, Brigham reorganized the work of tuberculin testing and on July 1, 1917, began eradication work in cooperation with the United States Bureau of Animal Industry under the accredited herd plan.⁹² In this way, Commissioner Brigham inaugurated one of the successful methods used in the systematic campaign to eradicate bovine tuberculosis in Vermont.

In 1924, Commissioner Brigham resigned to accept the Republican candidacy for representative in Vermont's first congressional district. With Brigham's full approval,⁹³ Governor Proctor appointed Edward H. Jones of Waitsfield to succeed him. Jones was a successful dairyman who had been active in the Vermont Dairymen's Association⁹⁴ and who had been a member of the special legislative committee set up by the legislature in 1921 to investigate the problem of eradicating bovine tuberculosis. He, alone, of the three members of that Committee had defended the need of an unremitting drive to eradicate bovine tuberculosis as a public health measure.⁹⁵

89. *Inaugural Message of Horace F. Graham, Governor of the State of Vermont to the General Assembly*, 1917, 5.

90. *Burlington Free Press*, January 30, 1917.

91. *Laws of Vermont*, 1917, No. 17. In 1923, the legislature organized a special Forestry Service headed by a Commissioner of Forestry, *Laws of Vermont*, 1923, No. 8.

92. Dwinell, Harold A., *Vermont Dairy Industry*, (Bulletin No. 56, Vermont Department of Agriculture, 1941), 23-24; Brigham, Elbert S., *Reminiscences Connected with the Eradication of Bovine Tuberculosis* (typed copy of address delivered on Achievement Day, December 15, 1936).

93. Personal interview with E. S. Brigham, September 11, 1945.

94. Vermont State Dairymen's Association, *45th Annual Report*, 1915, 50.

95. See E. H. Jones' dissent in the Report of the Special Committee on Bovine Tuberculosis, *Vermont House Journal*, 1923, 765.

Commissioner Jones gave to the people of Vermont twenty years of valuable service. The years of his administrative leadership were featured by the successful completion of the campaign to eradicate bovine tuberculosis and the initiation of a Bang's Disease Control Program. Also notable were Commissioner Jones' indefatigable efforts on behalf of Vermont farmers to obtain an organized marketing program in the marketing of fluid milk, particularly in the Boston market.⁹⁶

Less spectacular, but no less significant was the development of the Department of Agriculture in functions and organization. When Commissioner Brigham left office, the Department had already expanded but its fullest growth came in the term of his successor. By 1938, Vermont's Department was organized along functional lines with all work co-ordinated in seven divisions: Division of Plant Pest Control, Livestock Division, Creamery Inspection Division, Agriculture Division, Division of Markets, Division of Weights and Measures, and a Tabulating Machine Division.⁹⁷ This small, though efficient, State Department of Agriculture administers the multifarious activities that have been assigned to it in the many agricultural laws which are now to be found among Vermont's statutes.

Vermont has been fortunate in the development of its Department of Agriculture since 1908. The three Commissioners who held office between 1908 and 1945 were energetic and capable public servants who did much to win the respect of Vermont's farmers for their work. Since the establishment of the Commissionership, and more particularly since 1913, the Department of Agriculture has been able to keep clear of the kind of political controversies which had hampered the old Board of Agriculture. The long tenure of office enjoyed by Commissioners Brigham and Jones indicate that the Commissionership has become a career position which a Commissioner may hold as long as he displays competence in his job. This has made possible an expertness and stability in agricultural administration which was never possible in the days of the Board of Agriculture. This experience and efficiency of the men and women in Vermont's Department of Agriculture enabled the Department to meet the difficult problems of the critical years of the recent war, and will, no doubt, serve Vermont's farmers as well in the difficult years of post-war adjustments which lie ahead.

96. Dwinell, H. A., *Vermont's Dairy Industry*, 27-32.

97. See the chart of departmental organization in *Agriview*, I (September 15, 1938), 3, prepared by Deputy Commissioner Russell Going, the Department's expert in administrative organization.

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS

THE "SECRET" CORRESPONDENCE OF ALLEN AND WASHINGTON

One hundred years ago the indefatigable Henry Stevens, first President of the Vermont Historical Society, was bustling around the countryside gathering "historical" papers and copying those he could not acquire. A few perhaps came into the possession of the Society, for its library for many years was in Stevens home in Barnet. But the great majority, known as the "Stevens Papers," were sold to the New York State Library. Many were lost by fire there, but a considerable number were repurchased by the state, and are now a part of the Vermont State Papers, which are being steadily indexed by Stevens' present day counterpart, the equally indefatigable Mary G. Nye.

On July 25, 1942 Mrs. Nye came to a group of papers (not a part of the Stevens collection) among which was a letter from Henry to the Treasurer of the State, asking for further instructions and more funds for one of his antiquarian jaunts. Oddly enough, it was dated July 25, 1842, exactly one hundred years ago to the day. But the chief point of interest was not the coincidence, but a paragraph in which the bibliophile described his finds:

Washington July 25th AD 1842

Dear Sir

I left Barnet the first day of June. I was several days at Concord N.H. Several days in Boston & at Hartford Connecticut. I found at the Secretary office in each state many interesting document in relation to Vermont. I arrived at this place the 26th of June. I have handled over 58 volumes of bound manuscripts containing more than 400 pages each which brings me up to the first day November AD 1781. I have procured several important documents, copied. Saturday last I had a conversation with our delegates, made known to them what I had found, and asked their advise. They unanimously recommend that I persue my inquireys to the close of the war.

I have discovered al the secret correspondence with Chittenden

Allen & Washington. This alone is of the utmost importance.
This correspondence will not be made public at present. . . .

Obviously these papers would be an extremely valuable group for any study of the beginnings of Vermont. They likely would throw light on the good faith of the Allens, Chittenden et al. in their negotiations with the enemy during the Revolution. An immediate inquiry went forth to the Library of Congress. The following answer was received, and is printed in full because of its description of the possibly untapped source material of great value available there. It is the hope of the Editor and Mrs. Nye that they will have an opportunity to check these collections this fall, and report on them in the next issue of the *Quarterly*.

THE LIBRARY OF CONGRESS
DIVISION OF MANUSCRIPTS
WASHINGTON

Mrs. Mary G. Nye
Editor of State Papers
Office of the Secretary of State
Montpelier, Vermont

Dear Mrs. Nye:

Thank you for your letter of October 14, which enclosed the transcript of Henry Stevens' letter of July 25, 1842, to John Spalding.

You have set a difficult problem. Some collections which Stevens may have used have been rearranged and rebound, with no record kept of the former arrangements. Other manuscripts which were available to him have since disappeared. Stevens' reference to "all the secret Correspondence with Chittenden Allen & Washington" is puzzling, since we know of no collection in Washington at that time which contained originals of "all" this correspondence.

If Stevens referred to a collection now existing it was probably to the Washington Papers. The portion of this collection which was purchased by the Government in 1834 included a ninety-nine-volume series of letters to Washington, chronologically arranged, and dated from 1754 to 1799. We have no record of the inclusive dates of each volume, but, judging from the present

Washington collection, it is reasonable to suppose that about 58 volumes of the series would have carried the papers prior to 1781. This might also account for the statement about the Chittenden Allen and Washington correspondence, since a number of letters from Chittenden and both Allens, and copies of letters from Washington to these men, are with the collection.

I wish we were now able to consult the Peter Force correspondence, which contains many references to the work of the elder Stevens and which might include the information for which you are looking. Unfortunately this correspondence is not available, being a part of the manuscript material which has been removed from Washington to a place of greater safety during the war. I am sure that you will be interested in searching the Force material some time in the future, however, since it contains a great deal of information about the bibliographical work of the Stevenses.

In the absence of this correspondence, I suggest that you address an inquiry to the New York State Library in Albany. We notice in Justin Winsor's *Narrative and Critical History of America* (Vol. VII [New York, 1887], p. 440) that Henry Stevens' collection of papers covering the history of Vermont from about 1758 to 1846 were bought by New York State in 1875.

Most of our manuscript material on the early history of Vermont has been evacuated, and is not available for research. I shall give a brief description of it, however.

In the Papers of the Continental Congress there are four folio volumes of manuscripts relating to the New Hampshire Grants. These volumes include letters and depositions of inhabitants of the section, and reports of committees of Congress from 1776 to 1784. The collection includes also certain miscellaneous material, under several subject heads; one manuscript in particular is the letter of February 7, 1781, from Germain to Clinton, which, being intercepted, stirred Congress to action in the matter of the Vermont controversy. (Papers of the Continental Congress, No. 51, Vol. II, pp. 201-213.)

Most of the other material on the subject was acquired with the Force library; this consists entirely of transcripts. It included official papers relating to Fort Dummer, 1744; a volume entitled "Proceedings of the Convention of the Representatives of

the New Hampshire Settlers, containing their Covenant, Compact and Resolutions, and also the 12 Acts of Outlawry passed by the Legislature of the Province of New York against those Settlers, and their answer to the Same, Vermont Convention, 1774"; a volume of the accounts of Thomas Chittenden, Ira Allen and Ethan Allen with the State of Vermont, 1777-1780; a folio volume of "Miscellaneous Papers" containing "Maps and Proprietors of lands in Vermont, 1761-1772," letters to James Duane from John Munro and others, and "Part of the History of the Life of Ira Allen, Esq., Written by himself from Memory in the Pelagie Prison, Paris;" a portfolio of miscellaneous papers, dated from 1773 to 1783, consisting of letters of Colonel Allen to Governor Trumbull, the Albany Committee, Henry Laurens and others, of Horatio Gates, Ira Allen, George Clinton, Thomas Chittenden, Jonas Fay and Jacob Bayley; a folio volume of extracts from the "Haldimand MSS"; and a volume entitled "New Hampshire Claims," which consists of letters, Resolves of Assembly, proclamations, reports, orders, and memorials for the period 1778 to 1781.

We shall hope to make this material available to you when the present emergency is over.

Very sincerely yours,

St. George L. Sioussat
Chief, Division of Manuscripts

S: dsv

With respect to the "good faith" in which Allen and Chittenden conducted their negotiations to take Vermont out of the union and back into the British fold, there was considerable scepticism within the state. On October of 1781 General Roger Enos wrote to the Speaker of the House:¹

Mr Speaker,

I take the Liberty through your hands of communicating my Sentiments, to the Hon.^{le} General Assembly upon a Subject which greatly concerns the Interest and Safety of this State. —

The Hon.^{le} House I presume are in some measure sensible of the Motives, which have induced the Enemy to withhold their

1. Manuscript *State Papers of Vermont*, XXIV, 4.

Force from the Frontiers of this State. At the Close of the present Session, such measures probably will be adopted, as will open the Eyes of the Enemy, who will then be more fully sensible that notwithstanding their political Intrigues, Vermont ever has and, will, support the American Claims in common with the United States. At that Period we have every reason to apprehend the whole force of Canada will be exerted for our Destruction — should this be their Object, I would recommend that 1500 Men be raised, in manner following, & ready to take the Field by the first of Ap^l —

1^l To continue in service during the War, or for three Years. —

2^l To be cloathed, armed and accoutred by the State. —

3^l Their pay, Discipline and Government to be established as in the regular Army of the United States —

The Advantages arising from an Army established upon this footing, and our Ability for its Support, will appear obvious, by a just computation of the Expense and Inconvenience, this State has been at in the present method of raising Men for it's Defence. —

The Bounty we have given to Two and three different Classes of Men, raised for Two, three and Nine Months, in the Course of a Year has been sufficient to have enlisted an equal Number of Men during the War. — Besides the Advantages arising from an Army raised for a short Period, as has been the Case, is not only attended with great Expence and constant trouble, but very preccarious and uncertain. It is a Truth that the Powers of Government have never been able to raise more than one half the Number of Men assigned for it's Defence; and as the Troops are obliged to cloath themselves, they at the Close of the Campaign, are in a manner naked, incapable of Fatigue-subject to sickness, which ends in the Furlow of one half the Army, at the very time their Services are most wanted. — Should the Enemy make a severe attack upon our Frontiers in this Situation, the Consequences must prove fatal to many of our Towns not only on the Frontiers, but even in the interior parts of the State. Whereas — a well Disciplined Army Cloathed and Accoutred in a Soldier-like manner, which are essentially necessary, for the Health, Spirit and Vigor of a Soldier, would give such a Confidence to the Inhabitants on our Frontiers, that instead of being

employed in securing their Effects they would readily unite their force, which would give a Check to the Enemy untill the Strength of the State could be drawn out against them, if needed —

This mode of Defence would secure the able Farmers in their labour, at those times in which it would be ruinous for them to be called from their Fields — it would encourage the Settlement of our Frontiers, which would also increase our Strength, and absolutely necessary to gain the Aid and Confidence of the United States —

I am Sir
with due Respect
your Ob^t Hum Ser^t
Roger Enos

Charleston Oct. 17th 1781

(Certificate of Clerk)

State of Vermont

In General Assembly Oct^r 19th 1781

The aforesaid letter was read and refered to the Committee appointed to adopt proper measures for the defence of the State the ensuing year —

Attest Ros^t Hopkins Clerk

THE RUTLAND CALIFORNIA COMPANY

One of the most significant factors in Vermont's social and economic history has always been the migration of her sons to other parts of the United States. There were times when the emigration assumed the proportions of a mass exodus. 1849 was one such year.

Through the courtesy of its owner, Mrs. Charles C. Ward of South Pasadena, Calif., we are able to print the Constitution and By-Laws of the Rutland California Company, formed for the purpose of getting a group of Vermonters from Rutland to San Francisco in good order. It is interesting that, like the men who came in the Mayflower, they found a "compact" desirable to govern their group travels.

The notes which follow regarding some of the men in the company are furnished by Mrs. Ward. *Editor*

PREAMBLE — Believing that it would be to our advantage to associate ourselves together and have a regular organization and government, for the purpose of traveling from Rutland, Vt. by way of Mexico to San Francisco and the Gold Region of California we the subscribers do therefore form a company under the following constitution by which we agree to be governed under the pains, & Penalties set forth in said constitution and the By Laws hereafter enacted. —

1. This company shall be called the Rutland California Company.
2. The officers of the Company shall consist of a President, Captain, Three Directors, and a Clerk.
3. The President shall be chief of all civil affairs & preside at all meetings when he is present.
4. The Captain shall be chief in all matters pertaining to the defense of the company and act for the President in his absence.
5. The six officers of the Company shall be a "Board of Management" of which the President shall be chairman, and nothing pertaining to the company shall be done without the sanction of at least four of the board.
6. The Directors shall have the expending of the money expended for the Company — make all purchases and draw on the individual members of the company for their share of the expenses, — keep correct accounts of their expenditures & return correct copies to the clerk to be recorded.

7. The Clerk is to keep full records of all matters necessary to be recorded — & keep a correct account of all expenses & his Books to be open to the inspection of any of the company at any time.

8. Each officer shall hold his office till he resigns or is voted out of office by a majority of the Company.

9. In all votes the majority must be at least a majority of the whole company.

10. No one can be discharged from the company unless two thirds of those present agree thereto.

11. No one can become a member of the company unless two thirds of those present agree thereto.

12. The Board may call meetings at such time & place as they see fit — and anything done at a meeting not so called shall be illegal.

13. The sick shall be under the care & direction of the Board & no one shall be left behind unless at his own request and with the concurrence of the Company.

14. If any one of the Company dies he shall be properly buried and his grave marked, and his money & effects faithfully preserved for his heirs.

15. The company may make, alter and amend such By laws as they may see fit in accordance with this constitution.

In witness of our agreement to be governed as heretofore expressed we hereunto set our hands this 27th day of February 1849. —

J. C. Dexter
Samuel McConnell
T. O. Tower
G. M. Goodrich
Moses Curtis
Daniel E. Harlow
E. C. Bogardus
Robert Hopkins

John Brill
John Gilman
Tho. C. McConnell
W. H. Gould
Stearns Lawrence
Joseph Martin
Horace Hayward
R. C. Hunter
S. C. Millington

“FOR VERA CRUZ — TO SAIL THE TWELFTH INSTANT:
The fast sailing brig EMPIRE, Captain Baxter, is now receiving freights, and will positively be dispatched as above. The attention of Companies and others going to California by this route is called to her accommodations, which are superior in every respect, both for cabin and steerage, in each of which she has a few vacancies. For particu-

lars, apply on board at Murray's Wharf, foot of Wall street, or to Bussey & Murray, 62 South street."

— *New York Herald*, Feb. 8, 1849, p. 3, col. 3.

In an article headed, "The Emigration to California," on which the passenger lists of a number of vessels are given, appears the following:

The brig *Empire*, Capt. Baxter, sailed on Monday (19th) for Vera Cruz. The following is a list of her passengers:

Jos. Martin	J. B. Guitiau	W. Simonsfeld
S. and T. C. McConnell	J. W. Stanton	F. H. Berry
H. Hayward	D. Moon	H. L. Dodge
J. C. Dexter	J. Cateman	W. C. Harrington
M. Curtis	J. Logan	D. B. Northrop
S. Lawrence	S. Wingerts	N. H. Amblers
J. Gilman	T. Hawkins	J. H. Allen
W. H. Gould	D. Glover	E. Gill
R. Hopkins	P. Rearm	H. Saxton
R. C. Hunter	O. Gibbon	W. H. O'Grady
J. O. Fowler	W. H. Bulkley	J. Peterson
E. E. Harlow	A. B. Berry	P. P. Blackman
John Briel	G. W. Pierson	H. O. Comstock
J. T. Elyred	M. Saur	W. Wedam
G. M. Goodrich	P. Stone	A. P. Sherman
R. Fenner	W. B. Ostram	M. Bogardus
G. R. Welch	S. Dodge	A. N. Lynde
A. Booth	A. D. Sellick and servant	S. C. Wellington
D. D. Crumly	C. C. Basbeck	TOTAL 66
B. Brown	G. H. Berry	
O. F. Ackerby	J. C. Gurrett	
W. M. Mitchell	W. Shores	
J. B. Stanton	M. Bomolet	

— *New York Herald*, 2/
21/49, p. 1, col. 3.

HORACE HAYWARD, born Shrewsbury, Vermont, 14 May, 1824. Father: Benjamin Hayward (Howard). Mother: Elisabeth Marshall. Married Ellen Jane McCollough, Olney, Illinois, Jan. 1, 1852. Left Feb. 18, 1849, from New York harbor, on Brig *Empire*, for Vera Cruz, then across the continent by way of Mexico City, then by ship to San Francisco, Calif., for gold fields there. Attorney and Counsellor at Law. Judge, 4th and 12th Judicial Districts, Ill. President, Grayville & Mattoon Ry. Director, First National Bank, Olney, Ill. Senior Warden, Master, Treasurer, Olney Lodge No. 140, A.F., A.M. Trustee, Town. Politics: Whig, later Republican. Educated at Troy Conference Academy, Castleton Seminary, Vt. Studied law under Judge Robert Pierpont (Supreme Court). Congregationalist.

J. C. DEXTER, cared for by Horace Hayward, but died Dec., 1849, while crossing Panama. Hayward wrote his will.

THADDEUS C. MCCONNELL was born in Rutland County, Vt., 1833. ". . .

was about sixteen years old when he crossed Mexico to California among the forty-niners. . . ." Died Sacramento County, Apr. 27, 1863. — Irvine, Leigh H., *A History of the New California*. New York, Lewis Pub. Co., 1905, vol. 2, pp. 794-5. ". . . he came from Vt. to Calif. with his brother Samuel, across Mexico, in 1849. . . ." — Davis, Win. J. *An Illustrated History of Sacramento Co., Calif.*, Chicago, Lewis Pub. Co., 1890, pp. 684-5.

Born, Vermont. Died, Sacramento, April 27, 1863. Residence, Rutland. Typhoid fever, Dr. Oatman. Bur. Sacramento, New Helvetia Cemetery. — From cemetery records in California State Library.

SAMUEL MCCONNELL was born in Vermont. Died, Sacramento, Sept. 24, 1865, aged 41, pneumonia. Residence: Garden Valley (Eldorado County). Bur. Sacramento, New Helvetia Cemetery. — From cemetery records in State Library.

JOSEPH MARTIN, born Massachusetts. Died, San Francisco; died or bur. Nov. 11, 1850, aged 25. Bur. Yerba Buena Cemetery, San Francisco, Calif., grave No. 116. — From cemetery records in State Library.

HENRY LEE DODGE — "The subject of this sketch was born in Montpelier, Vt. Jan. 31, 1825. . . . The California fever ran high throughout the East, every town had its willing victims, and it required but little effort to form a company of twelve among his associates and friends. Preparing to start at once, they determined on the then untried experiment of crossing Mexico from ocean to ocean, trusting to chance to form the necessary connections on either side. The undertaking proved entirely successful. Taking sail at Vera Cruz, they thence crossed the continent, via the city of Mexico, to San Blas, where passage was obtained on a sailing vessel to San Francisco. The company made the trip in three months and a half. . . . Having visited the mines together, the company separated, each following the course suggested by his own judgment. . . ." — Phelps, Alonzo, *Contemporary Biog. of Calif. Representative Men*, 2 vols. San Francisco, A. L. Bancroft & Co., 188-, vol. 1, pp. 73-5.

EDWARD C. BOGARDUS, born Rhinebeck, N.Y., Dec. 30, 1830. Died, Nov. 2, 1854. Bur. Yerba Buena Cemetery, San Francisco, Coroner's Grave No. 587. Removed to City Cemetery, 1870 or later. — From cemetery records in State Library.

JOHN GILMAN, born Maine. Died, Sacramento, March 6, 1853, aged 22, typhoid fever, Dr. Morse. Bur. Sacramento Cemetery, Tier 6, Grave 102. — From cemetery records in State Library.

WINSLOW GOULD (W. H. Gould) appears among those who died in San Francisco, Oct. 31 or Nov. 1, cholera, aged 20. — *Alta California*, 11/2/50, p. 2, col. 4. Born Maine. Died or bur. Oct. 31, 1850, aged 20. Bur. Yerba Cemetery, San Francisco, Grave No. 445; bur. by Lewis A. Gould. — From cemetery records in State Library.

R. HUNTER, clerk, 249 Clay. — So listed in: *San Francisco Directory for the years 1852-3* . . . San Francisco, James M. Parker, 1852.

A. P. SHERMAN. "Drowned, July 10, at Mercedes' Diggings, upper camp, Calif., Ambrose P. Sherman, of Charlotte, Vermont, aged 21 years." — *Alta California*, 8/9/49, p. 3, col. 2.

HENRY ORVILLE COMSTOCK, under list of deaths "At Mercedes Diggings, the 5th inst., of Shelburn, Vt., aged 23 years." — *Alta California*, 9/20/49, p. 3, col. 1.

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Note: An asterisk (*) following a subject entry (for towns and cities) indicates that reference is made only to the place as being the *residence* of a person; i.e.: John Smith, of Moretown.

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